



Campaign Contributions and the Pennsylvania Supreme Court

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The cost of running for a position on a state Supreme Court has increased dramatically in many states, as organizations and individuals have poured money into what previously were often low-profile races. In Pennsylvania, however, total contributions fluctuated from year to year in the 1990s, with an overall increase in the total money raised in an election cycle, but an actual drop in the amount raised by winners between 1989 and 1999. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that the partisan Pennsylvania judicial candidates were already raising in excess of \$1 million by 1989, the kind of money many other states didn't see until the elections of 2000.

The question of whether the pressure to raise funds affects candidates for a state's highest Court deserves scrutiny, since many of the people who contribute to judicial candidates may end up appearing in Court before them. About 27 percent of the 2,313 cases heard by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court between 1989 and 1999 involved a campaign contributor.

This study, prepared with support from the Program on Law & Society of the Open Society Institute, collected and published contribution data and data on Supreme Court cases as part of the dialogue on judicial independence. It is intended to gather together data on the cost of judicial races, who gives to judicial candidates, how much they give, what their business interests are, and whether or not they appeared before the Court. While it is beyond the scope of this report to determine whether this relationship caused any bias in the Court's decisions, the proportion of funds that came from those who later appeared before the Court was relatively small, at 5 percent, and no statistical evidence suggests contributors fared better than non-contributors. In fact, private attorneys and litigants who contributed to winning Justices were on the winning and losing sides in about the same number of cases. In addition, the vast majority of campaign contributors had no cases before the Court and, conversely, most parties and attorneys who appeared before the Court had not contributed. A summary of the findings follows.

SUMMARY

- Thirty candidates ran for Supreme Court seats from 1989 through 1999 in 36 separate candidacies, and 25 of the candidates raised funds in races for five contested seats.

Their campaign contributions totaled nearly \$13 million. There were seven uncontested retention races during the study period, and none of the candidates in those races reported contributions.

- Five of the candidates in contested races — three winners and two losers — raised more than \$1 million each.
- A total of 635 cases, or 27 percent of the 2,313 cases heard during the study period, involved parties or attorneys who contributed to a Supreme Court Justice before the case in which they were involved was decided.
- About 4 percent of all parties and attorneys who appeared before the Court had contributed to a winning Justice at least once before their case was decided; they accounted for 3.5 percent of the named contributors and gave about 5 percent of the total money in the six election cycles — about \$655,000 out of nearly \$13 million. Their contributions represented about 9.5 percent of the \$6.8 million raised by the winning candidates.
- Candidates themselves gave \$1.26 million to their own campaigns, or about 10 percent of the total raised during the study period.
- Political parties gave slightly more than 10 percent of the amount raised by winning candidates, with contributions totaling about \$696,000.
- The amount raised by winning candidates ranged from a low of \$341,461 in 1993 to a high of nearly \$1.8 million in 1995.

The Money in Judicial Politics Project of the Institute on Money in State Politics was developed to track contributions and spending in Supreme Court elections in a number of states, including Pennsylvania. To compile a complete campaign profile of the Court that included at least one election for each of the seven Justices sitting on the bench in 2000, data was collected for an 11-year period, 1989 through 1999. During that time, 30 individuals sought one of the seven positions on the Court, several of them more than once.

Databases were created of campaign contributions during the study period, and contributors' names were matched against a database of the parties and attorneys whose cases were heard by the Supreme Court from 1992 through 1999.¹

The 2001 race for an open Supreme Court seat, in which two candidates raised \$2.25 million, is not included in this study because the new Justice elected that year had not yet participated in enough cases to make the process of matching contributors and litigants worthwhile.

Note that the data is a small dataset; averages and trends calculated from such a small sample can be misleading and should be read with caution. A summary list of the cases is attached as an appendix, and the complete databases are available on request.

The Court

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and six Justices who are elected to 10-year terms in partisan, statewide elections. If more than one open seat is

¹ Databases were created of all campaign contributions to all candidates in the elections held from 1991 to 1999 and of all contributions to the winning candidate in 1989, Justice Ralph Cappy, allowing the analysis of all contributions to winning candidates who became members of the Court during the time period covered by the docket database.

being filled, all of the candidates run at large in one race and the top vote-getters fill the open seats. At the end of a term, an incumbent Justice must run unopposed in a retention election in order to serve another term. If a seat is vacated before the end of a term, the Governor, with Senate approval, appoints a replacement who serves until the next scheduled municipal election. The sitting Justice who has served the longest is automatically named Chief Justice. Justices must retire at the age of 70, even if that occurs in mid-term.

The Cost of Running

The cost of running for contested seats for the Pennsylvania Supreme Court fluctuated over the course of the study, but generally rose between 1989 and 1999. During this study period, no incumbent Justice running for retention reported raising any funds.

During the six election cycles in this study, 12 Supreme Court were seats up for election, involving 36 candidacies by 30 separate individuals. Only five of those seats were contested, one each in 1989, 1993 and 1997 and two in 1995. Those contested races drew 29 candidates, who raised a total of \$12,837,271. The other seven races were uncontested retention races. In 1991 and 1999 there were no contested races, and no money was reported by the five retention candidates in those years.

The winners in the contested races raised more money than did their opponents in three out of the five races. In the other two, the losing candidates were substantially better funded than the winners. In 1997, Joseph Del Sole outraised winner Thomas Saylor by about \$300,000 (\$1,343,502 to \$1,043,908), and in 1993, Russell Nigro raised almost \$1.4 million in a losing effort against Ronald Castille, who raised just \$341,461.

The most expensive race occurred in 1995, when two seats were vacant and both the Democratic and Republican parties had contested primaries. That year, eight candidates (three Republicans and five Democrats) raised more than \$4 million. Sandra Newman, the top vote-getter, raised \$1.8 million, or almost half the total that election cycle. However, the other winner, Russell Nigro, raised only \$853,279, and the average raised by all candidates in contested races that year was only about \$512,000. The \$1.8 million that Justice Newman raised in 1995 was the largest amount raised by any one candidate. In contrast, two candidates who lost in the primary election in 1989 did not report any contributions.

The following chart details the amounts raised by the candidates who ran in each of the elections and indicates whether they were running unopposed in a retention election or running in a contested election for an open seat.

Year	Recipient	Contrib \$	Status	Party	
1989	FLAHERTY, JOHN P	\$0	W (I)	D	Retention
1989	CAPPY, RALPH J	\$1,427,514	W	D	Contested
1989	BRODY, ANITA B	\$999,755	L	R	
1989	BAUER JR, EDWARD G	\$0	PL	D	
1989	ERTEL, ALLEN E	\$208,065	PL	D	
1989	KELLEY, JAMES R	\$10,034	PL	D	
1989	ROSS, EUNICE	\$37,627	PL	D	
1989	TAMILIA, PATRICK R	\$0	PL	D	
1989	ELECTION TOTAL	\$2,682,995			
1991	MCDERMOTT, JAMES T	\$0	W (I)	R	Retention
1991	NIX JR, ROBERT NC	\$0	W (I)	D	Retention
1991	ZAPPALA, STEPHEN A	\$0	W (I)	D	Retention
1991	ELECTION TOTAL	\$0			
1993	PAPADAKOS, NICHOLAS	\$0	W (I)	D	Retention
1993	CASTILLE, RONALD D	\$341,461	W	R	Contested
1993	NIGRO, RUSSELL M	\$1,392,706	L	D	
1993	SURRICK, BOB	\$31,441	L	Patriot	
1993	BERTANI, DANTE	\$15,069	PL	D	
1993	DELLA VECCHIA, MICHAEL A	\$10,000	PL	D	
1993	MUNLEY, JAMES	\$652,739	PL	D	
1993	MUSMANNO, JOHN L	\$157,087	PL	D	
1993	POPOVICH, ZORAN	\$17,733	PL	R	
1993	SMITH, DORIS A	\$56,899	PL	D	
1993	STRETTON, SAMUEL C	\$5,265	PL	D	
1993	ELECTION TOTAL	\$2,680,400			

Year	Recipient	Contrib \$	Status	Party	
1995	NEWMAN, SANDRA SCHULTZ	\$1,799,882	W	R	Contested
1995	NIGRO, RUSSELL M	\$853,279	W	D	
1995	BARRASSE, MICHAEL J	\$407,849	L	R	
1995	MUSMANNO, JOHN L	\$537,129	L	D	
1995	COHEN, GENE D	\$136,711	PL	D	
1995	MUNLEY, JAMES	\$348,192	PL	D	
1995	SCHERER, BERNARD	\$33,460	PL	D	
1995	SURRICK, ROBERT	\$7,517	PL	R	
1995	ELECTION TOTAL	\$4,124,019			
1997	SAYLOR, THOMAS	\$1,043,908	W	R	
1997	DEL SOLE, JOSEPH A	\$1,343,502	L	D	
1997	ELLIOTT, KATE FORD	\$77,838	PL	D	
1997	SCHILLER, BERLE	\$884,608	PL	D	
1997	ELECTION TOTAL	\$3,349,857			
1999	CAPPY, RALPH J	\$0	W (I)	D	Retention
1999	FLAHERTY, JOHN P	\$0	W (I)	D	Retention
1999	ELECTION TOTAL	\$0			

Election-Cycle Averages

The average amount raised in contested races did not fluctuate much over the decade, starting at a high of \$1,213,635 in 1989 and then dropping to \$867,084 and \$897,035 in 1993 and 1995, respectively, before reaching \$1,193,705 in 1997. However, the money raised by primary election candidates in those races increased dramatically, from \$51,145 in 1989 to about \$130,000 in 1993 and 1995 and to \$481,223 in 1997.

Money raised by the winners has not followed a predictable pattern over the decade, dropping from the \$1.43 million that Ralph Cappy raised in 1989 to \$341,462 raised by Ronald Castille in 1993, in the next contested election. The fundraising totals for the two winners in 1995 jumped to \$1.8 million and \$853,279 and then fell to slightly more than \$1 million in 1997.

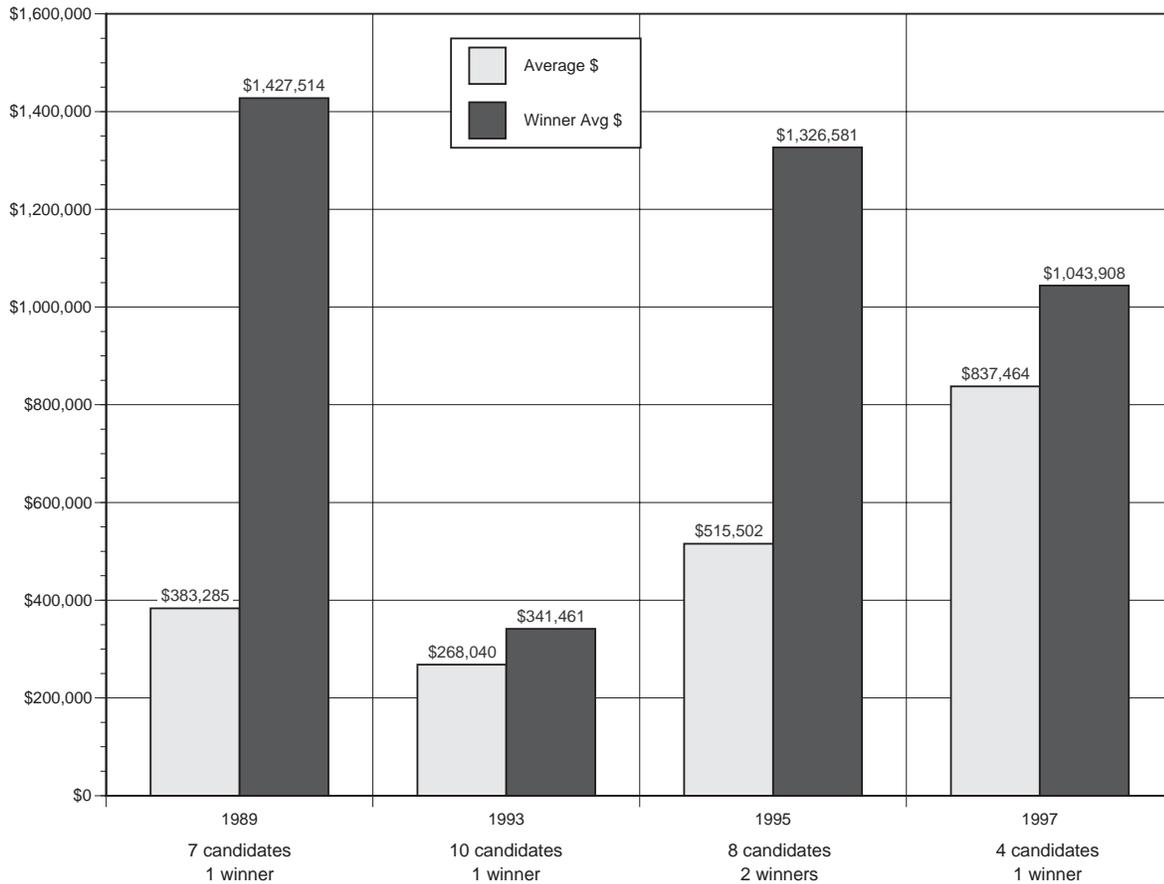
During the study period, three of the five winners in contested races raised more than \$1 million each.

The average contribution size from named contributors for all candidates in contested races dropped steadily between 1989 and 1995, but increased substantially in the following election. The average contribution went from a low of \$537 in 1995 to \$708 in 1997.

The average size of contributions to winning candidates² was almost the same in 1989 and 1997, at \$635 and \$636, respectively. But fluctuations were wide in the intervening years. The lowest average amount was \$416 in 1993, when Ronald Castille raised the smallest total amount of all winners in contested races. And the highest average occurred in 1995, when Russell Nigro raised about \$853,000, with average contributions of \$775. However, when contributions for the two contested races in 1995 are combined, the average amount given to winners that year came to \$620.

The number of contributions to winners was at a high in 1989 when Justice Cappy received 2,234 contributions. The number dropped to 785 contributions in 1993 and rose again to 1,622 in 1997 — still substantially below Justice Cappy’s numbers.

Average Funds Raised by Judicial Candidates in Contested Races
1989-1999



² The averages were calculated based on contributions in which candidates identified the contributors. The averages do not include money candidates contributed to their own campaigns, non-contributions such as interest income, or lump-sum contributions reported by candidates because the individual contributions were under the threshold for reporting the names of individual contributors. Small contributions under the reporting threshold reported by candidates as a lump sum

Litigants and Contributors

To assess the frequency with which contributors to judicial candidates appeared before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, this study matched a list of contributors who gave money to winning candidates against the list of parties and attorneys who had appeared before the Court. This comparison showed that only 376 of the 10,769 named contributors in the study period were involved in cases that came before members of the Court to whom they had contributed.

These contributors represented 3.5 percent of all contributors and slightly more than 4 percent of the 9,348 individuals or organizations who appeared before the Court. They gave \$654,953 — about 5 percent of the total contributions to all judicial candidates and 9.5 percent of the \$6.86 million raised by winners.³

Recipient	YearCode	\$ from Litigants	Total \$	% of total from Litigants
CAPPY, RALPH J	1989	\$226,295	\$1,427,514	15.9%
CASTILLE, RONALD D	1993	\$26,310	\$341,461	7.7%
NIGRO, RUSSELL M	1993	\$192,922	\$1,392,706	13.9%
NEWMAN, SANDRA SCHULTZ	1995	\$70,281	\$1,799,882	3.9%
NIGRO, RUSSELL M	1995	\$107,675	\$853,279	12.6%
SAYLOR, THOMAS	1997	\$31,471	\$1,043,908	3.0%

Do Contributors Win?

Given the importance of judicial impartiality, a system that forces candidates to seek funds from those they know raises questions of favoritism. However, it is nearly impossible to accurately calculate whether contributors receive better treatment because of their contributions. The cases that go before the Supreme Court of any state involve the most complicated legal questions that the state's legal system produces, and the result can be split decisions or complex holdings that are not easily scored as a victory for one party or the other. Furthermore, it is impossible to guess whether the successful party would have been successful without the contribution since, unlike the situation that arises with contributions to legislative candidates, one of the two parties before the Court will prevail, with or without contributions. As the breakdown below shows, there is no statistical evidence that contributors win.

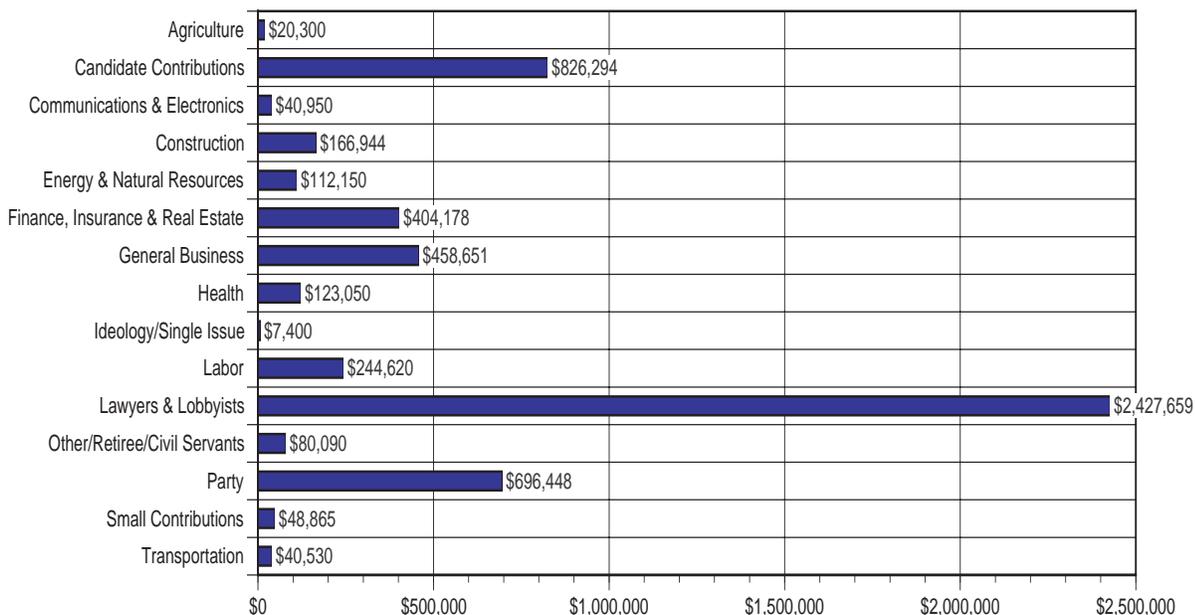
³ The contribution total for winning candidates includes the money raised by Justice Nigro during his unsuccessful 1993 campaign, because contributors in that election cycle could eventually have appeared before him after he was elected in 1995.

In Pennsylvania, contributors were involved, either as a party, an attorney or an *amicus*, in 635 of the 2,313 cases in the study period. Analysis of these cases showed:

- In 270 cases, or 42 percent, contributions came only from parties on the winning side of the case. However, 122 of these cases involved contributing public attorneys whose contributions probably had little to do with their success or failure, as they represented the government rather than an individual client in Court. If these cases are counted separately, private attorneys and litigants were on the winning side in 145 cases, or 23 percent of the cases involving contributors. In another three cases, both private and public attorneys were on the winning side.
- In 219 cases, or 34 percent, contributions came only from parties or attorneys on the losing side of the case. Seventy-nine of those cases involved contributing public attorneys, while 140 — or 22 percent — involved private attorneys or litigants.
- In 41 cases, or 6 percent, the Court issued split decisions; of those, nine cases involved public attorneys and 28 involved only private attorneys and litigants. Another 4 cases involved both public and private attorney-contributors.
- In 84 cases, contributions came from both winning and losing parties. In 44 of those cases, winning parties gave more than losing parties. In 38 cases, losing parties gave more, and in two cases, winning and losing parties gave the same amounts.
- In 21 cases, the only contributions came from *amicus* parties, and only one case involved a public attorney.

Sources of Funds

The five judicial candidates who won contested races raised \$6.86 million during the six election cycles. The sources of about 83 percent of the funds have been identified and classified by business sector or party. The lack of information on employer and occupation in the candidates' reports makes it impossible to classify the remaining 17 percent.



a. Attorneys

Winning Supreme Court candidates received contributions from 1,503 attorneys, including in-house attorneys for businesses. These attorneys gave \$2,427,659, or more than 35 percent of the total income raised by winning candidates. They represent 23 percent of the 6,561 named contributors who gave to winners.

Attorney contributor-litigators

Four percent (376) of the 9,348 individuals or organizations who appeared before the Court contributed to a winning candidate at least once before the high court decided the case. About 87 percent — 326 of those 376 contributor-litigants — were attorneys, law firms or political action committees (PACs) representing lawyers.

Public attorneys

Although attorneys as a group were the largest source of campaign funds to winning candidates, the public attorneys who represented state or local governments before the Court gave very little. Only 31 public attorneys who appeared before the Court contributed to a winning candidate, although they appeared repeatedly in 266 cases. These 31 public attorneys represented 8 percent of the 386 public attorneys who appeared in Court during the study period. Some of those attorneys worked directly for a government agency as, for example, district attorneys or staff attorneys for state agencies. Others were private practice attorneys who contracted with the state for a particular case. The public attorneys contributed only \$21,815 for an average of \$704 per attorney and less than 1 percent of the contributions by attorneys.

Although public attorneys appeared in almost 30 percent of the cases in this study (686 out of 2,313), those who contributed to a Justice appeared in only 266 cases, or 11.5 percent of the total cases.

Pennsylvania Trial Lawyers Association

With the exception of Justice Newman's \$821,832 contribution to her own campaign, the Pennsylvania Trial Lawyers Association was the single largest contributor, giving \$315,151 to winning candidates from two PACs. The Committee for a Better Tomorrow gave \$183,651 to Justice Cappy in 1989, and the Committee for a Qualified Judiciary gave \$131,500 to winners. Neither the Trial Lawyers Association nor its two PACs appeared as a party before the Court, but 28 attorneys filed *amicus* briefs on behalf of the Trial Lawyers in 31 cases. In 10 of those cases, the *amicus* attorney had previously contributed as an individual.

Law Firms

It can be important to examine the total giving by all members of a law firm, even those who did not appear before the Court, to evaluate their potential influence in matters before the Court. Although members of law firms change over the years, the firm's name often carries the weight of reputation as much or more than the individuals who argue the cases. However, a survey of several of the largest contributor law firms does not suggest that they fared better than average in cases decided during the study period.

Their contributions total \$353,437, or 14.6 percent of attorney money. However, only \$169,612 went to winners, or just under 7 percent.

- Caroselli Spagnolli & Beachler and its attorneys gave \$88,130, of which \$25,530 went to winning candidates. Of that, \$18,380 was given by individuals who appeared before the Court. The firm was never a party in a case, but three partners who contributed appeared in six cases, winning three and losing three. In addition, two non-contributing attorneys appeared in three other cases. They won one, lost one and filed an *amicus* brief for the Trial Lawyers Association in one.
- Reed Smith Shaw & McClay and its attorneys gave \$77,150, of which \$54,925 went to winners. However, only \$5,300 was given by attorneys who appeared before the Court. The firm itself and 33 attorneys were contributors, but only six were litigators. They appeared in nine cases and won four, lost three, split one and filed an *amicus* brief in one. In addition, 11 non-contributing attorneys appeared in 13 cases (once with a contributing attorney); they won eight cases, lost four and filed an *amicus* brief in one.
- Daniels Saltz Mongeluzzi & Barrett attorneys contributed \$65,050, of which \$26,750 went to winners. Only \$3,250 was given by two litigators, who lost both cases. In addition, two partners contributed but did not appear before the Court.
- Klett Lieber Rooney & Schorling and its attorneys contributed \$64,974. While \$31,824 went to winners, only \$7,510 of that amount was given by litigators. Seventeen members of the firm, the firm itself and its political action committee were contributors, but only three attorneys appeared before the Court. They lost one case (in which a non-contributing attorney also appeared) and filed *amicus* briefs in two others.
- Buchanan Ingersoll gave \$58,133 with \$30,583 going to winners. Eight attorneys, the firm and its PAC made contributions. Only one attorney, who gave \$500, appeared before the Court, filing an *amicus* brief. In addition, non-contributing attorneys appeared in four other cases; they won one, lost two and filed an *amicus* brief in one.

b. Self-funding

Justices Castille and Newman were the only winning candidates who contributed to their own campaigns. The \$826,294 they put into their campaigns accounted for about 12 percent of all funds raised by winning candidates. Justices Cappy and Nigro also loaned money to their campaigns, but were reimbursed for the whole amount. Justice Newman’s contribution of almost \$822,000 constituted 46 percent of her total funds.

Recipient	1989	1993	1995	1997	TOTAL
CAPPY, RALPH J	\$0				\$0
CASTILLE, RONALD D		\$4,462			\$4,462
NEWMAN, SANDRA SCHULTZ			\$821,832		\$821,832
NIGRO, RUSSELL M			\$0		\$0
SAYLOR, THOMAS				\$0	\$0
TOTAL	\$0	\$4,462	\$821,832	\$0	\$826,294

c. Business Sources

In Pennsylvania, individuals and PACs may give unlimited amounts to candidates. Corporations, unions and other "unincorporated associations" other than political committees are prohibited from making direct contributions but can form PACs to which their employees and members can contribute.

Winning judicial candidates received \$1,359,353 from individuals and companies in the business category, which covers agriculture, communication/electronics, construction, energy/natural resources, finance/insurance/real estate, health, transportation and general business. Litigants who appeared before the Court gave \$50,948 of these contributions, or about 4 percent of the total. As a group, they won 16 cases, lost 28, and received split decisions in two.

More than 20 percent of the business money — \$210,500 — came from Stephen Marcus, who at the time was chief executive officer of Mars Graphics, a direct mail and marketing company. He gave \$200,000 to Justice Newman in 1995, but neither he nor his company appeared before the Court. Marcus was on the board of Rodale Press when it was a defendant in a case that it lost, but the case was decided in 1995, before Justice Newman was elected.

d. Political Parties

Pennsylvania Supreme Court races are partisan, with candidates selected in party primaries for the general election. The party organizations, officials and candidate committees gave \$696,448 to winning candidates, about 10 percent of the total funds raised by winners. The Democratic Party committees gave slightly less than the Republican committees (\$136,162 to \$153,708), but Democratic sources such as candidate committees and officials gave far more than their Republicans counterparts (\$311,650 to \$94,928). Overall, Democrats gave almost twice the amount the Republicans gave to winning candidates, \$447,812 to \$248,636.

More than half of the Democratic money given to winners came from two longtime politicians. State Sen. Vincent Fumo's committee gave \$99,000, while the top individual Democratic giver was Edward G. Rendell, mayor of Philadelphia from 1992 to 1999 and the newly elected governor of Pennsylvania. His campaign committees gave \$125,000 to winning Democratic candidates. Rendell is now calling for merit selection of judges.⁴

The biggest individual Republican contributor was Barbara Hafer, the State Treasurer, who personally and through her campaign committee gave \$15,900.

e. Labor

Labor organizations and staff gave \$244,620 to winning candidates. Four unions gave more than half of that total:

- The Teamsters Union gave \$51,500 to winners. The Teamsters appeared before the Court four times, winning three cases and losing one.

⁴ James O'Toole, "Rendell, Fisher Agree on Judges; Both Gubernatorial Candidates Back Merit Selection for Bench of State Appellate Courts," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Sept. 16, 2002, A1.

- The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) gave \$44,250 to winners. AFSCME locals were before the Court eight times. They won three cases, lost four, and filed an *amicus* brief in one.
- Teachers, staff members and political action committees affiliated with two teachers' unions — the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association — gave \$42,850 to winners, representing about 18 percent of the labor money. NEA-affiliated PACs gave \$22,150 to winners and appeared before the Court in 14 cases. They won eight cases, lost four and filed an *amicus* brief in two. AFT affiliates gave \$20,700 to winners and appeared in four cases, losing two and filing an *amicus* brief in two.

f. Non-business Sources

The "Other" category consists of non-business interests such as clergy, military, government employees, nonprofit institutions, artists and retirees. Contributions to winners from these sources totaled \$80,090, about 1 percent of the total funds raised by winning candidates. None of these contributors were identified as litigants.

Expenses

The candidate expenditure reports list the amount and purpose of each payment a candidate makes. In many cases, the purpose listed on the candidate reports is too vague or general to reliably identify the specific reason for the payment. This analysis has assigned the expenditures to 12 categories, based on the information available.

Following is a breakdown of the approximately \$6.6 million that winning Supreme Court candidates reported spending on their campaigns:

- Advertising was by far the largest expense category. Advertising for all the winning candidates came to \$4,583,500, or almost 70 percent of the total expenditures. Winning candidates spent \$4,111,159 on media advertising that was clearly identified as TV or radio. This total includes consultants when the payment was clearly identified as media consulting. The other advertising expenses of \$472,341 included newspaper ads, yard signs and unspecified advertising.
- Payments for unspecified consulting services came to \$581,928.
- Administrative expenses accounted for \$711,579. These costs included payroll, office overhead such as rent, phones, computers and general supplies, postage when the purpose of the postage wasn't specified, and all unidentifiable expenses.
- Payments to political parties totaled \$252,525. More than half of the payments — \$131,110 — were listed by the candidates as contributions, including \$111,500 to the Republican Party from Justice Saylor. The rest of the payments included fees and activities such as dinners, advertising and polling.

All other expenses accounted for less than 8 percent of the total. Winning candidates spent about \$214,060 on unspecified printing costs. Fundraising and other events, such as rallies, totaled \$204,557. Candidates spent \$77,757 on travel expenses, including plane fares, gas, food and lodging. Political contributions of \$20,386 went to other candidates,

including events sponsored by candidates. The contributions category totaling \$1,415 consists of payments to nonprofit organizations such as NAACP. Payments of \$4,182 were also made for tickets and other fees to non-party events such as Chamber of Commerce dinners and community parades.

Purpose	Expend \$
MEDIA ADVERTISING	\$4,111,159
ADMINISTRATIVE	\$711,579
CONSULTANTS	\$581,928
OTHER ADVERTISING	\$472,341
PAYMENT TO PARTY	\$252,525
PRINTING	\$214,060
FUNDRAISING	\$117,566
EVENTS	\$86,991
TRAVEL	\$77,757
POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS	\$20,386
TICKETS	\$4,182
CONTRIBUTIONS	\$1,415

Appendix